age the burden of feeding them was borne by their employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful preparations in this matter and in lean years their storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The following paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Basho Hikiwatasu ensetsusho*:

> In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent immediately and guards dispatched.

As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came to the Nemuro *Basho* from Shari and Sōya because of famine in those areas,[13] while in Karafuto rice was distributed when fishing was poor.[14] All these are examples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped to raise their living standards. An outstanding example is that of Etorofu Island where the women and children who were badly in need of clothing became adequately clad as a result of this relief program.[15]

3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and simples were used only through the medium of witchcraft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind and took to the mountains and, as a result, these diseases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

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[13] Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Basho e nigekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro *Basho*), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

[14] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[15] "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona* were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all the children and then to the women. This was greatly appreciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of Kunashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to "Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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A SHAMAN

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ent fall bite him. He will watch all the time for an opportunity to kill him." 754

Continuing, my informant mentioned the following incident and said that it showed how snakes really did answer prayer. "Once upon a time two Ainu who had been the objects of a bad man's prayers to a snake were walking along a path when, without the least warning, an adder bit the foot of one of them. The other man therefore took a stick and struck the reptile on the head and killed him. He then heedlessly threw him away among the grass. The man who was bitten, however, did not die at that time; but after a while both men fell ill and died. The fact was that they threw the dead reptile away without first sticking a piece of wood through its head. Had they done so, it would not have killed them. For neglecting to do so, the evil spirit of the snake came out of the body and possessed both of them, so that they died. This was all done in answer to the prayers of a wicked man who asked help from the adder."

One day, as I was on my travels with a good Ainu friend, he pointed on ahead to a woman who was coming our way. He told me to be very careful, for she was a dangerous witch who was herself bewitched by snakes. I found out from him that she kept the image of one carefully put away in her private box in her home, which she at times took out for purposes of divination and witchcraft. Through it she could curse one to death and also foretell future events. By it she could tell the reason of any sickness or trouble and discover remedies for them. Of course, at a price. She was also able to tell what was going on at a distance. She was a wonder to all around and greatly feared. We met her and we had a little conversation together. She appeared to me to be all right, but had a very bright eye and firm mouth. We very soon became friends and remained so till she died. She admitted later that she had tried to influence me by her [756]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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A SHAMAN AND HIS WIFE
(The points of their noses have been cut off for theft.)

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXXII

SHAMANISM AND A SHAMAN'S SÉANCE

I have met many shamans (wizards), male and female, during my sojourn in Ainu-land. And it appears to me that the more effete the race becomes, the more wizards there are cropping up. They are all inimical to what I have been trying to teach. They are a class who believe in the agency of good and evil spirits, and fancy they can, by the aid of their magic rites and verbal spells, bring good or evil upon people as they will. If any get sick, or die, or the rain fails so that there is a drought, or it rains too much and spoils the garden crops, or there is a flood, or any calamity whatsoever befalls the Ainu, these wizards lay it to the score of large numbers having become Christians, because, they say, by accepting Christianity they have forsaken their old gods and given up some of their ancient customs. And this frightens some people.

One hardly knows what to call the shamans in English. Wizards, witches, medicine-men, sorcerers, magicians, necromancers, all of these combined seem to be comprised in shamanism, and the shamans are certainly devil worshippers. Although the name "shaman" is not used by itself among the Ainu, yet "to perform the acts of shamanism" carries it, for that is called *e-shaman-hi*, i.e. "act the shaman." I believe *shaman* itself means really "heart" or "mind grabber." The present day common term is *tusu-guru*, which means "double-lived one." Why this should be so will appear later.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

685 During one of my walks with Chief Penri in bygone days, we came across a tiny hut hidden away from everyone in the scrub, and, going to it, found two people, husband and wife, who had lost the points of their noses.(*) And this marked them off as people apart. They paid great deference to the chief. I asked Penri about them afterwards and he told me they were very bad people indeed, and he had helped to cut off their noses at the ends a few years before, because they had been guilty of breaking into a granary and carrying off the grain. They were living there because they had been expelled from their village and no one would allow them henceforth to reside with them in the communities. They were boycotted. "This is how it comes to pass that they are hidden away here, the beasts!" he said. These two were my first personal shaman acquaintances.

●756 I met this worthy couple again many years after in Sapporo. They had built a little lodge just outside the city, near the road, and they were getting a living in the city by dancing and begging. One day my Ainu servant told me that a person had died in their lodge and would I care to go with him and see them? Upon going I found one or two friends had gathered there and thought it would be a good time to give an address. I spoke in Ainu on the Christian's hope. This pair of shamans, sitting there by the hearth, looked so earnestly at me and seemed to be so much interested in what I was saying, that I warmed up and kept at it for quite a long time. The man had his shaman's stick or wand in his hand. At length I saw him cast his eyes down and strike the hearth vigorously. And with a grunt, his wife also took her eyes off me. I then closed the meeting and returned home. As we were walking along, my man burst out laughing and said "Did you notice the pair of them fix their gaze on you, Sir?"

*Their photo is given at the beginning of this chapter.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

"Yes, weren't they interested?" replied I. "Interested!" he returned. "They were trying to hypnotise you. But they were quite unable to accompliah their end. They had not the slightest power over you. You beat them!" It may have been so; I can not tell. Anyway, my man believed it. Strange to say, I could never after that day get near enough to speak to them. When they saw me coming, they always ran clean away. They were as much afraid of me as my servant was afraid of them! 756 ●

I now no longer wonder that the Ainu shamans are called "persons with double life," for with them the subconscious life is regarded as the double one (objective and subjective). On a certain occasion I was passing a hut, when I heard a great noise coming from it. On stepping in, I found a wizard hard at it performing his magic spells. He was sitting at the head of the hearth holding a wooden wand in his right hand, beating time and emphasizing his words with it. He also at times beat himself with his hands. He had a fox-skull, decorated with fine fetish shavings, sticking out of his bosom. He was busy exorcizing. He was sending the demon of sickness from a suffering woman, and trying to find out the cause of it and tell of a remedy. And the people believed him, and also feared him. The shaman was in a trance and much excited. His eyes were wide open but they appeared to be glazed over with a sort of film, and he seemed to be looking far away into the world of spirits, without seeing anything material. As a matter of fact, he was self-hypnotized. On such occasions they tell me they see nothing but with the mind, and are quite unconscious objectively of what they themselves say. The careful listeners only understand their words and allusions. The shaman becomes the mouthpiece of his inspiring gods, who speak through him in a sort of dirge. As they do not speak to him, but only through him, he often does

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

756 not know himself what he is saying, and afterwards he does not remember (so he says) that he has spoken.

I saw the same man again one evening, standing by the head of another very sick woman who was lying on a stool by the fireside. Several women were sitting round the patient, holding her tightly with their hands, as though trying to keep life within her, and the shaman swaying to and fro, with an earnest look on his face and his eyes flashing light. He was trying to send the demon of sickness away. Some of the women about the sick one filled their mouths with water and blew it over her face and body. They also every now and then gave vent to their feelings by loud lamentations and weeping. Some held lights and others turned out the pots, pans and tubs and swept the house clean from end to end. In so far as I could see, this was the only good part of the performance.

157 I stated above that the shaman I saw at his work carried a fox skull in his bosom, well decorated with fetish shavings. Such skulls are for the purpose of divination. When in one of the interior villages I came across a man who was very angry because he had lost a *yen* (about two shillings). He had strong suspicions that a married daughter who lived next door had stolen it. Being a shaman in a small way, he called his daughter before him, so as to divine whether she was guilty or not, as she would not, of her own will, confess to the deed. Every married Ainu in the olden days kept a fox's skull on hand for divination, and was not at all backward in using it. This is how it happened that the father so quickly began to divine. The following is the way the ceremony was conducted:

The accused woman was brought into her father's hut and made to sit in front of him. He then reverently and with great ceremony produced his fox's skull, prayed before it and the fire, told of the loss, and asked for a true answer to be vouchsafed him. He next

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

the rafters over the patient, so that he or she may lay hold of them when they wish, and by clinging to them raise themselves up to a sitting position. I have frequently seen the women performing what they call *sitate* on sick people as they recline or sit. This is a process in which several women kneel or sit round the patients and treat them by massage. It is a very rough process and sometimes amounts to a thorough kneading and pummelling of the entire person with the hands and fists. At other times, when one is very ill indeed, the *sitate* consists chiefly in holding the body tightly, so as to try and prevent the soul from escaping. This is the women's part. As for the men, they sit round the fire, where they make fetishes and do worship.

In working cures, water is thought to be of great efficacy, and is often used. When persons faint, for example, or are at the point of death, water is freely blown over them from the mouth, or sprinkled over them with bunches of spray-wood or grass. A young man of my acquaintance fell from his horse one day, and was left upon the path in a state of unconsciousness. As the event proved, he had three ribs broken. In order to restore him to consciousness, water was applied. I was informed by the lad's uncle that before he came to, three large tubs of water were poured over and sprinkled on him. Poor lad, the wonder was that he did not die of kindness!

When a person desired to know the reason of his malady, he sent and fetched a shaman to come and explain it. This is not merely an echo of the past, for it is sometimes practised at the present day. One day when I went into a hut to visit a sick woman, I found some women not only blowing water over her and holding her body tightly, but others also very busy turning out the water tubs and pots, while some were holding lights and others sweeping the floor.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

● 756 There was much weeping and howling, and the dust caused by the sweeping was enough to kill almost anyone.

753 826 787 It is doubtless well to look on the bright side of things, and it is some comfort that even the most vexatious complaint of the body often points in some inexplicable manner to a future good. On a certain occasion I was very much afflicted with boils, and quite unable to get about. An Ainu friend, hearing of my plight, kindly came to see and sympathise with me. After making very many kind enquiries, he said, just before leaving, "Oh, you need not trouble about your boils, for when people have boils, it is a sure sign that the coming year will be a good one for the garden crops; my master must therefore bear his trouble with joy and fortitude." I have great pleasure in passing on this consolation to all friends suffering from boils. It is not known by the Ainu whether boils are sent by gods or demons; each man must decide this question for himself.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

listened carefully and heard all sleeping fast, the wife also sleeping quietly beside me. Just about midnight I struck her a sudden blow on her bosom and seized her soul, with which I quickly made off. 539 825 754 789

"On reaching home I made her my wife, fed her well, and rejoiced with her. So happy were we that I could not bring myself to leave the house. But very soon the birds came and told me that the gentleman had returned to his home. As he was drawing near to it, he discovered his wife's corpse lying by the roadside in a decomposing condition. He was greatly affected and sent for six male shamans who were brothers, and six female shamans also, who all lived near. When they arrived, the males performed the shaman rites. Nevertheless their eyes were unable to reach me for I had covered myself well. But at last the youngest one of them very nearly discovered me. When I saw that he was just about to set his eyes on me, I caught up a tuft of grass and waved it upwards. This made many mountains to spring up as a screen between us, so that he did not see me. [756]

"Then the male shamans were all sent out of the house and the females brought in. All six performed the shaman rites. The youngest of them all but set eyes on me. She said in her frenzy, 'A bachelor witch-fox wanted a wife and went off to find one. When thou wentest away, he came to thy house, seized thy wife's soul and bore it away. He married her and now she and he are living happily together. Tomorrow at the break of day thou shalt go to fight him.' So spake she.

After that I could not sleep and kept awake till daylight appeared. Just before noon I heard voices close to my house. Very soon after, I heard fire roaring close by and tongues of fire began to come through the cracks. I gave my wife a push, turned her into a little bird, and then popped her into my mouth. That

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 A86 Ainu A86

An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle. The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destinations. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

In some degree this was extended to *ramat* in general. The *ramat* of a snake or wasp, for example, is almost sure to harbour resentment if the creature is killed unceremoniously. Death comes to all, and for *ramat* it simply means change of body or abode. But to be forced to leave without, as it were, receiving due notice, is apt to cause resentment. In times past the *ramat* of small animals and birds killed, or even found dead, was placated by some wrappings of sacred *inau* shavings, and animals ritually killed were sent off with great ceremony. Sacrifice other than the ritual dismissal (*kamui iomande*) of the bear is now seldom seen, but the Bear Ceremony is still characteristic of Ainu belief and ritual.[1]

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To offend any kind of *kamui* involved the risk of retaliation by spirit magic or actual spirit possession (*turenbe*). There is a good as well as a bad spirit possession. (See Chapter IX.)

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Kamui operate by possession or by the exercise of magic power. There are words for different kinds of magical operation; one closely associated with *ramat* but, according to my informants, quite distinct from it, is *mawe*. In prayers soliciting help against evil spirits I have found *mawe* to mean magic; it is a magic agency employed by *ramat*. Some *kamui* have more *ramat* than others and, like the Pacific *mana*, it is attributed to human beings in different measure. This is not so marked in the present degenerate culture, though a magnetic personality still enjoys some repute for specially efficient power in dealing with evil spirits.

● 756

Those who perform the rites are the *ekashi*. This word is a term of respect which as a rule means elder and will usually be so translated, though it is also used to mean grandfather and ancestor. The corresponding feminine term is *fuchi*, which means primarily grandmother, but also ancestress and goddess.

Batchelor speaks of the *ekashi* as shamans, and in a broad sense this is not incorrect.[2] The rites which they perform, and the nature

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[1] The Ainu believed that every deity lived in the country of deities, with a mode of life similar to that of the Ainu, and had human form. When a deity visited the Ainu, it dressed appropriately. For example, Kim-un Kamui, Deity of the High Mountains, put on the skin of a bear. When animals which embodied particular deities were caught by the Ainu, the spirits were sent home with the prescribed ceremonies; among those so sent home were the bear, the salmon, the owl, and, in some localities, the seal, the *sirkap* and the *sisam*. The bear, the owl and the eagle were kept and killed ritually.—H.W.

[787]

[2] In no rite described by Munro does an *ekashi* become possessed by a spirit. Women mediums called *tusu*, possessed by *kamui*, diagnose diseases which are then treated by the *ekashi* Chapter IX, Exorcism). Among the photographs

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

of the materials employed therein may be regarded as more efficacious than mere supplications of the good *kamui*, but they never perform rites without previously making supplication. Divination (*esaman-ki*) by means of an otter's head is also well known. Sorcery was certainly practised by some elders, but sometimes merely for protection, and I am told that those who used it for evil ends were ostracized.[1] A sorcerer at Mukawa maintained that he had no evil powers himself but that he employed evil spirits (*wen kamui*). He carried a bone which had been used by his great-grandfather, to protect himself against these spirits.

I have found no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though, as stated by Batchelor,[2] sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them.[3] It is possible that in former times an isolated Ainu, practising sorcery, worshipped the evil spirits, but having witnessed many of the rites directed against such spirits, and being familiar with the sentiments uttered in prayers against them, I cannot believe that anything like demon worship was ever general in Ainu religion. All the elders whom I have interrogated emphatically deny it. Many Ainu still believe that most of the ills and ailments of life are due to evil spirits, and what remains of active religion is chiefly concerned with means for repelling or expelling them.

While a rigid classification of *kamui*, recognized as such by the Ainu, is not feasible, some arrangement will aid description. It need hardly be said that in polytheistic religions there is much latitude in choosing gods for general, as well as for special help, so

sent by Munro is one of a flat Siberian-type drum, labelled 'A Shaman's drum, used in exorcism rites in Sakhalin'. But no further information or comment is given.—B.Z.S.

[1] It is said that there were two kinds of sorcery among the Ainu, *onitak* which aimed at killing people and *ponitak* which aimed at causing harm or trouble. The details of these sorceries are unknown, but they are said to have consisted of phrases used originally by evil deities. *Ponitak* was known by a few old men who used it to harm or hypnotize people, as well as game such as the bear and seal, but it was believed to react adversely upon the sorcerers and their relatives. It was not allowed in public, and good men were afraid of knowing anything about it (*Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. 2, p. 105, The Imperial Academy of Japan, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

[2] Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, *Ainus*, Vol. I, pp. 239–52.

[3] It is said that in the Saru basin an evil deity called Chikapipenta-ekashi amba Kamui was formerly besought in prayer to hypnotize enemies during a night attack, then a frequent occurrence and that his worship, with offerings of *inau*, etc. continued till quite recent times (Natori, *Hoppo-Bunka*, No. 4, pp. 40–1).—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

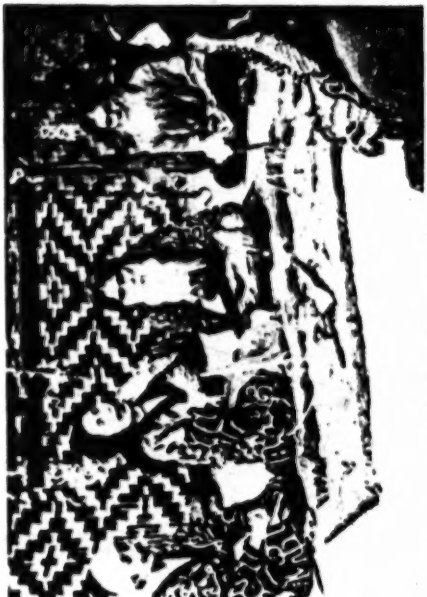

Fig. 1. An *imu* woman diagnoses the spirit responsible for patient's trouble. Fig. 2. *Imu* woman in a trance state. Fig. 3. *Ekashi* treats a patient possessed by an evil snake with the image of Kimashut Kamui at the *nusa* set up for him. Fig. 4. *Ekashi* treats patient possessed by a hornet.

PLATE XXI. EXORCISM RITES.

[p. 78, (E)]

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841 826 hard it will be several years before they can have children. If both mates have hard blood they are condemned to childlessness, and nothing can help them, not even the cures mentioned above. It is significant that in this case they are not permitted [756] to turn to the shamans for help. These would definitely refuse to trouble the gods with such unclean affairs (ciachkire oruspe).

842 597 538 Sterility is not, however, something that should be punished with contempt. A childless family usually adopts a child from relatives. In the Ainu sagas and fairy tales it often happens that brave heroes who have always been successful in life and who have obtained a beautiful wife through great dangers and exertion, remain childless just because they were so powerful (we-nupuru). For children are ordinarily born only to the weaker (we cian) heroes of Ainu folklore.

841 834 589 Women who have no menstruation are recognized as sterile. These are the so-called "pure" who are designated by the Ainu as kiejsach machneku (that is, "bloodless"). These girls are strictly forbidden to have sexual intercourse with men, since they might by this find immediate death. Not long after my arrival among the Ainu /773/ a woman who had preserved her innocence till late in life, died. She had shamanic tendencies [756] and had for a long time been a shaman, from which can be deduced that she had a more tender and more receptive nervous system than the other girls. Among the Ainu can be found women with whom menstruation stops in youth. These women are condemned to complete sexual abstinence. A woman was pointed out to me who, though she lived together with an old man and was considered his wife, slept apart from him for the above mentioned reason. This had been going on for many years.

886 145 Menstruation. The Ainu know that when menstruation ceases that period of life begins for the woman when she is no longer capable of being fertilized. They were, however, unable to give me the average age at which this occurs. The Russian doctor N. Kirilov calculates this age to be 40 years.